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"REDNESS" AND "EXPERTNESS"

Be Both Red and Expert, and Scale the Pinnacle in the

Interest of Revolution

A Talk with Young Comrades on the Question of Redness and Expertness

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(Peking Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao June 3, 1965)

Some young comrades have said: "Ch'ien Hsüeh-sen is an example of those who follow the road of 'expertness first and redness later.'"

To this question I replied in 1957. At that time I said, "It is true that I have worked for 'expertness first,' but whether I can achieve 'redness later' or not depends on how well I learn [to be red]. But I do not agree with those who say that 'expertness first and redness later' must be a short-cut."

At that time I had not yet joined the Party and my level of political thinking was not high, so that was the farthest I could go with regard to the question.

In 1958 I was accepted as a member of the Communist Party. After that, thanks to the Party's education and assistance for me and especially through the tempering I have received in taking part in the three major revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment in recent years, my political consciousness has gone up somewhat and I have begun to understand better the question of redness and expertness. I now wish to say something about it from another angle.

Is it not true that some young comrades are saying that they want to take the road of "three-pass" (to be able to win a pass politically, pass the stiffest tests professionally, and pass one's time [i.e., live] well)? No matter whether it is "three-pass" or "expertness first and redness later," the ideological essence is the same as I see it. It is a desire to acquire more of "expertness" and less of "redness," and to pursue the object of personal gain, high position, and "passing one's time well."

If "three-pass" is the end, then I could be said to have been a typical "three-passer" in the past. As a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, I could rate "a pass politically." "Professionally I could pass the stiffest test," because I had mastered some techniques. "In livelihood I passed the time well," thanks to the care taken of me by the Party and the people. Do you not think that that is a fine state to be in?

However, according to my own experience, such "three-pass" is very dull. It is not only uncomfortable, but also highly embarrassing. Man has a spiritual side. What meaning is there only to eat good food and live comfortably? When people come to know that you are a bourgeois individualist in pursuit of personal

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same and profit, and discriminate against you, do you not feel highly embarrassed? The reason why I wanted to break through the obstacles in the United States and come back to my Motherland is not because I wanted to live well and win everyone's respect, but because I wanted to give the people the knowledge and techniques I had acquired and follow the Party politically. That is why I did not want to be a bourgeois intellectual and was not satisfied with being "passable politically." Instead, I strove actively for progress politically, intensified my ideological remodeling, and finally succeeded in becoming a Communist Party member.

Some young comrades want to take the road which I took in the past. That is very wrong. It is a road which I think is meaningless and which I have already resolutely abandoned. Why should these young comrades embark on such a road?

Young people should have far and great ideals. [For them] the future road is very broad. It is proletarian revolutionaries whom you are going to relieve, not the bourgeoisie. This is a question of orientation. I hope you will not take the wrong road.

Some young comrades seem to have the naive idea that a man may be separated from politics. They cite examples of past scientists like Newton and Einstein and the present-day development of science in capitalist countries, saying that these scientists never put politics in command but nevertheless were able to make great contributions to science and promote its development.

I will say that man cannot get away from politics even if he wants to, and that it is politics--either proletarian or bourgeois--that is always in command. No matter whether they were scientists of the past or are scientists of capitalist countries of the present, they will not be separated from politics, only theirs is not proletarian politics.

I will not go back too far, but will give an example of the facts I witnessed in the United States. I have stayed in the United States for a total of twenty years, and consider myself one who knows that country very well. So far as I know, politics is talked about in the United States. Moreover, it is not only talked about, but talked about extensively and intensively--it penetrates into everything. Their radio, television, newspapers and periodicals of all types keep propagandizing every minute bourgeois politics and the "Heaven and earth destroy those who do not mind their own interests" individualist life philosophy. Of course, since their politics serves the big capitalists, certain things cannot be held up to view. So they have to adopt more concealed, deceptive means and do their propaganda furtively.

Perhaps someone may say that one who is engaged in work on natural science need not touch politics. True, natural science has no class character, but people engaged in work on natural science have it. In a class society, science and technology cannot avoid serving a specific social system and a certain class. It is a lie to say that one is engaged exclusively in scientific and technical work and is not concerned with politics. There is no scientist in a capitalist country who is not concerned with politics. Even Einstein, who professed aloofness from politics, actually took part in it. Was the first atom bomb of the United States not produced at his suggestion to the United States Government? That was politics!

Take myself for example. In the twenty years when I lived in the United States I was never outside the sphere of bourgeois politics. It was not until my return to the Motherland, my study of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung with the patient help and education of the Party, and my participation in some political movements, that I was gradually awakened and began to make some progress and understand certain things. I have told myself that if I had been educated by the Party and had studied some Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung earlier, I might have avoided taking many detours and produced more results in my scientific work.

If I say that I could not choose but take a road that combined bourgeois politics and my chosen line of work in the past, then in our country today can we still take that road? I may say with absolute certainty: No.

The reason is very simple. It is because both the time and conditions have changed. Ours is now a socialist country under proletarian dictatorship where the bourgeoisie will sooner or later go out of existence, bourgeois thought will be boycotted and any difference between physical and mental labor will be eliminated. It is the object of our revolution to "promote the proletarian and destroy the bourgeois cause."

If a man embarks on a road that is doomed to extinction, how can he ever reach his destination? Once in such a cul-de-sac, how can he think freely and be contented? In such an abnormal spiritual state, he will not be able to concentrate and learn well. How can he settle down to gain "expertness"?

Therefore I say that in our country, those whose head is full of bourgeois individualist ideas must strive to intensify their own remolding, or they will surely be unable to become "expert" in anything. It will be a vain for them to try to become really "expert."

On the other hand, is it better to be "only red but not expert"? No, it is not. If a man is not "expert" but is contented only with being "red," then his "redness" will be questionable. He can only be a worthless politician who is of little use to the people. This is because if you want to serve the people and serve them well, you will have to have real talent.

I hear that there is a misunderstanding among young comrades: Whenever we mention the subject of redness and expertness, they seem to think that "redness" is more important than "expertness." As a result, some of them no longer devote their energies to their school work or to the study of their chosen line of work, because they are afraid that people may call them "experts without redness."

The truth is that the Party and Chairman Mao have always insisted on being both red and expert. They have never said that they want only redness but not expertness. Do these young people not want to be "red"? If they want to be "red," then they must first of all listen to Chairman Mao's advice: Be both red and expert. They must not neglect expertness.

At present, since this kind of misunderstanding still exists among some young comrades, I cannot but say a few words more about it.

First of all, I want to make it particularly clear to our young comrades that, according to the fact that science and technology is still comparatively backward in our country, we are not having too much "expertness" at present, or having quite enough of it. On the contrary, we are having too little "expertness" and what we have is far from enough. In order to enable our science and technology to catch up with and overtake the most advanced level in the world and in order to build our country into a socialist power as soon as possible, we need to have much more "expertness," so that we may have more and better oilfields like Ta-ch'ing, more and better 12,000-ton hydraulic presses, more and better atom bombs, etc. In short, we must have what other people have and what they have not yet had.

In this way, our country will be more powerful than ever, imperialism and revisionism will no longer dare to bully us, and we shall be able to make greater than ever contributions to the revolutionary cause of the people of the whole world.

That is what we mean when we say "redness" must be made practical in "expertness" so as to produce results. Otherwise, by not producing anything concrete, all our talk about being both red and expert will be mere empty talk. The "redness" will have no meaning at all.

Therefore, young comrades need not have any misgiving about being "expert." So long as they firmly stick to the proletarian stand and seriously put the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command, they may freely and boldly pursue "expertness." If they seek "expertness" for the sake of revolution, the more "expert" they are, the better it will be for the revolution.

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Why do the Party and Chairman Mao put forward the demand of being "both red and expert," and declare that it is the only correct road for intellectual youth?

So far as I know, this is because a man must work and work "expertly," but then there must be a correct orientation for "expertness." The question in regard to this orientation is for whom do you pursue "expertness" and whom do you serve. In our country we work to serve proletarian politics, and so we must be "both red and expert."

What is "redness" and what is "expertness"? Different persons may have different ideas.

Personally, I think "redness" should mean support for the Communist Party and socialism and use of one's specialized knowledge in the service of socialist construction. It also means that, in the struggle against imperialism and its running dogs and the struggle against modern revisionism and between the two roads in the country, one must be able to stick firmly to one's stand and carry out thoroughly the Party's guidelines and policies.

"Expertness," on the other hand, means mastery of basic skills, gradual acquisition and complete mastery of the theories and techniques of one's speciality, and skilful application of these theories and techniques in practice.

What I have said here about redness and expertness is the very elementary requirement. Our young comrades should not feel satisfied with fulfillment of this requirement alone, but should try to fulfill the expectations of the Party. They should resolve to be reliable successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution and firmly and untiringly impose on themselves strict demands in accordance with the five standards for revolutionary successors mentioned in the "9th Comment."\*

\* The 9th comment by the editorial departments of the Jen-min Jih-pao and Red Flag on the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Entitled "On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," the comment named these requirements for "successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution":

(1) They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchev wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

(2) They must be revolutionaries who whole-heartedly serve the majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchev who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

(3) They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchev and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and government at any level.

(4) They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchev and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

(5) They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must not cover up their errors like Khrushchev, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.

For complete text of the comment, please see Current Background No. 737, July 17, 1964--SCMP Ed.

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There is no end to either "redness" or "expertness." If at any time one feels contented with one's achievements and thinks that no further effort is necessary, one will be blocking one's own way to progress.

Whether in point of "redness" or "expertness," I am still far short of the high standards of requirement. However, I do not feel downhearted. I am only in the early fifties and full of confidence. Our young comrades are much younger than myself. They are only in their twenties or thirties, and they still have a long way to go in life and work. If they firmly follow the road of being both red and expert, they will certainly be able to make faster progress and greater achievements than we of the older generation.

I have heard some young comrades say: It is good to be "both red and expert," but that is a difficult goal to attain because there is so little time. A view widely held by them is: Time is a constant; in order to be "red" one has no time to be "expert," and in order to be "expert" one has no time to be "red." They seem to think that the main difficulty that prevents them from being "both red and expert" is lack of time.

In my opinion, this view is not quite scientific. The view that time is a constant is metaphysical, because it stresses one-sidedly only the objective factor of time and fails to see the subjective factor of man. Within the same time, some people can do more and better work than others. Why? Because man has initiative. If a man cares to use his brain, he will be able to find all the time he needs. The question is whether you have sufficient drive.

I think we can attain both redness and expertness. The crucial question here is not one of time, but rather what you put in the commanding position--whether it is proletarian politics and the thought of Mao Tse-tung or personal fame and profit. To put proletarian politics and the thought of Mao Tse-tung in the commanding position, one must ceaselessly and consciously carry out ideological remolding and struggle against one's own individualism.

Compared with workers and peasants, we intellectuals in general are not quite so innocent. Many intellectuals have complex family backgrounds and social relations. They are deeply influenced by bourgeois and feudal thought and are full of individualism, so that it is very difficult to remold them.

Take me for example. My family background and social relations are very complex. In addition, I have lived in the United States for twenty years. Therefore I have been subjected to more bourgeois influence than many other people. All this brings with it a certain degree of hindrance to my own progress and remolding.

But time marches forward, and it will not do to refuse to reform. This is also true with our scientific and technical work.

As everyone knows, our scientific and technical work is built and developed on an old foundation. Many of our veteran intellectuals engaged in scientific and technical work have come from the old society or the capitalist society. Many of our scientific and technical books are old. Many of our new books and periodicals have come from capitalist countries. Even much of our system of scientific and technical work and education has been inherited from the old society or directly copied from capitalist countries.

The influence exerted by all these on our scientific and technical work and on our scientific and technical personnel cannot be dismissed lightly. As a matter of fact, the bourgeois and feudal ideas, separation from reality, metaphysics, idealism, mechanical materialism, etc. that exist in our scientific and technical work and in the mind of our scientific and technical personnel have all been derived from these things.

In my view, there is much in the scientific work of some people that is not scientific. In this connection, we of the older generation are also to blame. Some of us have intentionally or unintentionally disseminated the above-mentioned things among young people, so that they are exposed to very undesirable influence. Such ideas as I have mentioned before--people engaged in natural science may not concern

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themselves with politics, it is desirable to follow the "expertness-first-and-redness-later" road, serious separation from the masses and from reality in work, etc.--are all reflections of erroneous thinking. It will not do not to reform these things in earnest.

Finally I want to say something about the best means and way by which intellectuals may carry out ideological remolding and attain both redness and expertness. The way is earnest study of Chairman Mao's works, going deep into the worker-peasant-soldier masses and prolonged participation in collective physical labor, and active participation and tempering in the three major revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment.

Chairman Mao's works are an ideological weapon. Almost the whole world is now studying them. Revolutionary peoples study them in order to draw strength from them. Imperialist chiefs Johnson, Taylor, and others also study them. They do so in the hope of finding some means of dealing with us.

The revolutionary peoples can immediately make good use of what they have learned. The enemy, on the other hand, continue to suffer defeat miserably in spite of his effort. Here there is the question of stand and sentiment. If we intellectuals have not a certain amount of [proletarian] class consciousness and class sentiment, we shall not be able to study well.

Someone has asked: Can a study of Chairman Mao's works help to solve practical problems in scientific and technical work? My answer is that it not only can, but moreover is quite effective. Innumerable facts have shown that wherever the thought of Mao Tse-tung is placed in command, positive results can always eventually be achieved in our scientific and technical work, and that moreover there will be less detours and mistakes. The successful detonation of our first atom bomb within such a short time, a fact that startled the whole world, was a result of the placing of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in the commanding position by our scientific-technical personnel and workers. On the other hand, when we have not studied thoroughly Chairman Mao's works and do not understand them well enough, our thoughts will remain stationary and we shall not be able to do our work well.

How should Chairman Mao's works be studied? I think the most effective means is to study in relation to our problems. This is a highly successful piece of experience that has been summed up by the PLA.

In our scientific-technical units, should our young comrades not study Chairman Mao's works with regard to the following three aspects and in relation to problems of their own actual ideological state and their actual work?

- (1) To establish a revolutionary life outlook, serve the people wholeheartedly, cultivate a high degree of devotion to one's work and a high sense of responsibility in work, and struggle against all difficulties courageously;
- (2) To solve correctly the relationship between book knowledge and practical knowledge and between foreign experience and Chinese practice, break superstitions, liberate thinking, and truly embark on the creative road of linking theory with practice;
- (3) To apply consciously in scientific-technical research the theory of knowledge and methodology of dialectical materialism, improve the method of thinking and work, and better solve scientific-technical problems.

I have probably expressed myself imperfectly with regard to the three aspects above, but I suggest them for the reference of our young comrades.

With regard to the question of participation in the three major revolutionary movements, much has already been said by other comrades, and I will not say anything more. Here I will make only this point: Our cause is a collective one and none of our work can be divorced from the collective. Accordingly, it is very important to establish firmly the mass viewpoint in our mind, so that we may rely on the masses and follow the mass line in everything.



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This appears very easy, but in my experience it is very difficult to accomplish really. In taking part in the three major revolutionary movements, particularly in carrying out scientific experiment, our young comrades must pay careful attention to and gradually resolve this problem.

Because their family background is not good, some young comrades have placed a burden on themselves and slackened their demand for "redness" on themselves. That is wrong. One cannot choose one's own family background, but one should be perfectly able to choose what road to follow. The important thing is one's conduct. If one takes the road of being both red and expert and follow it resolutely, there will be a bright and great future.

Young comrades, the present situation is very favorable on our scientific-technical front as on other fronts. Thanks to the close concern shown by the Party center and Chairman Mao and their brilliant leadership, and as a result of the efforts of all our scientific-technical personnel, our scientific-technical work has already initially rid itself of the backward aspect. We are now able to solve by ourselves some important and difficult problems of socialist construction, to design and build some large-scale, modern enterprises. Certain peaks in the world's new scientific domain have also been scaled by us. Our scientific-technical forces have also grown in strength considerably. The day of our catching up with and overtaking the world's advanced scientific-technical level cannot be too far away. With such a favorable situation, there is no reason why we should not work well.

Imperialism and revisionism still want to strangle us any moment. They think they can take advantage of our scientific-technical backwardness. But we the Chinese people are determined. In the past more than ten years the Party and Chairman Mao have led us in changing initially the backward aspect of our science and technology, thus vindicating the Chinese people and all oppressed nations of the world.

If we listen to Chairman Mao's advice, resolutely cherish the great ambition of catching up with and overtaking the most advanced world level, work hard, fully master our work, and make concerted efforts, we shall certainly be able to raise our scientific-technical level to a new high peak, build our country into a modern power, and contribute more toward the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

Having high aspirations and great drive, and daring to think and act, young people constitute the strongest effective and shock force on our scientific-technical front. You will be a relief force. You must have the will and ambition to be such, and shoulder this great and glorious task.

Young comrades, raise speedily our scientific-technical level, build our China into the strongest country in the world, be good revolutionaries at home and internationally. I put all I have said into one sentence: You must be both red and expert, firmly ground redness in expertness, and scale the pinnacle courageously for the sake of our revolutionary cause.

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#### PROCUREMENT OF FARM PRODUCE

Only When You Organize Purchase in Time Can You Support  
the Development of Production

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, May 23, 1965)

Comrade editor:

Only when we make timely purchases of farm and subsidiary products can we support the development of production and satisfy market demands. This is a useful experience--and a lesson--which we have gained in the course of buying preserved turnip.